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MEDICAL ALLUSIONS IN THE WORKS OF ST. JEROME

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IN the eighth volume of the *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*,¹ is to be found a valuable article by Harnack upon the history of medicine and surgery among the early Christians. The limits of his discussion hardly include Jerome, and it has seemed to me worth while to bring together some of the abundant references to this subject found in Jerome's writings. The reasons for their frequency I shall later suggest; suffice it here to say that a large proportion of the allusions are in the form of similes or metaphors derived from the different fields of the medical profession. Casual mention of such figures is made by Harendza,² who, however, gives no hint as to their frequency; Lammert³ recognizes them as common, yet cites but a few examples limited to the *Letters*; but other references by modern scholars I have not discovered. In the collection which I have made there has been no attempt to distinguish sharply between historical or scientific references to medicine and mere metaphorical allusions, for the latter, to be comprehensible and cogent, must be based fairly closely upon actual practice, and though my concern has been mainly with the figurative uses, it has seemed desirable, for greater completeness, to include the literal cases as well.⁴ In the

¹ Heft 4 (1892), pp. 37-152: *Medicinisches aus der ältesten Kirchengeschichte*.

² *De oratorio genere dicendi quo Hieronymus in epistulis usus sit*. Diss., Breslau, 1905, pp. 29, 31, 36.

³ *De Hieronymo Donati Discipulo* (*Comm. Phil. Ienenses*, IX, 2 (1912), p. 10).

⁴ I cannot pretend to exhaustiveness in this collection, since the field from which the illustrations are drawn is so extensive. Essentially all Jerome's extant works, however, except his translations and writings mainly lexicographical (such as the *De Nom. Hebr.*) have been drawn upon. The citations are given with the page numbering of Vallarsi (as reprinted by Migne) except for the first part of the *Letters* and for the commentary on Jeremiah, where the editions of Hilberg and Reiter respectively (*C. S. E. L.*, vols. LIV, LV, LIX) have been used. For the homiletical works citations are of course drawn from the edition by Morin in the third volume of the *Anecdota Maredsolana*. Certain spurious letters (Nos. 5 and 6

figurative examples, as will be readily understood, the comparison involved is the time-honored one between disease and sin.¹ A rough and not altogether satisfactory classification of the instances may be made under the main headings of the Physician, the Patient, and the Disease.

The Physician.² In more than one place Jerome attacks the medical practitioners gathering around the shrines of Aesculapius, in which the custom of incubation was still in vogue,³ and ridicules the supposed restoration to life of Virbius by the alleged god of healing⁴ who does not cure but destroy men's souls.⁵ Of course this is the reflection of that great struggle of the second and third centuries between the cult of Aesculapius, the pagan Savior, and the worship of Jesus, in the accounts of whose life physical healing had played a noteworthy part, a struggle of which the work of Origen *Against Celsus* is so important an evidence.⁶ Not alone, then, to the general attitude of Christians and to what might be called commonplaces of Christian argument, but in particular to Jerome's much-admired and frequently-used source Origen may we be led to trace not a little of what we shall find in the later writer. Offset to the pagan Savior is the Christian Great Physician, the *verus medicus*,⁷ *solus medicus*,⁸ *ipse et medicus*

in Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, XXX, pp. 61-104) contain many medical allusions, but are naturally not here included.

¹ A comparison not limited to Christianity, but found in various pagan philosophies and notably in Stoicism (Harnack, *op. cit.*, p. 129; Arnold, *Roman Stoicism*, p. 286). Numerous references of a figurative nature to physicians, diseases, and cures may be found in such Stoic works as Seneca's *De Ira*.

² I shall not here list the physicians of whom Jerome makes mention in the *De Viris Illustribus* and elsewhere, for of them Harnack gives an account (*op. cit.*, pp. 37-50).

³ *Comm. in Is.*, xviii, p. 774.

⁴ *Comm. in Eph.*, ii, p. 619.

⁵ *Vit. Hilar.*, 21.

⁶ See especially Harnack, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-132.

⁷ *Vit. Hilar.*, 15; *adv. Ruf.*, i, 26; *in Hierem.*, iii, 77; cf. Weyman, in *Woch. f. kl. Phil.*, xxxi (1914), Sp. 413; *in Naum.*, p. 567; *in Eph.*, ii, p. 619; *Tract. in Is. (Anecd. Mared.*, III, iii, 97, 7 and note); cf. Aug., *C. D.*, iv, 16. And so in the Scriptures, according to *Ep.* 118, 1, 3, *vulnerum vera medicina est, . . . dolorum certa remedia*.

⁸ *Tract. in Ps.* 90 (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, iii, 68, 8); cf. *Comm. in Amos*, iii, p. 325.

et medicamentum,¹ *verus archiater*,² *quasi spiritualis Hippocrates*.³ By an extension of the figure, not only Christ but also the apostles⁴ and even the prophets and great men of the Old Testament⁵ appear endowed with similar healing power, and we need not be surprised to find that to the prophets the term *ιατροί* had been already applied by Origen.⁶ With such divine and ecclesiastical support it was but natural that Jerome should look upon the medical profession and refer to it as one of dignity. Among the details of the physician's work mentioned by him are the visitation of patients⁷ and diagnosis (in which the examination of the pulse is especially noted).⁸ To the physician the patients must tell their symptoms if they expect a

¹ *Tract. in Marc. 1* (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, ii, 338, 3-4).

² *Id.*, 337, 14-15. Cf. Origen, *Hom. 1 in Ps. 37* (Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, XII, 1369), where Christ is the *archiatros* of the medical art.

³ *C. Ioan. Hier.*, 38. In chapter 39 of the same work Isidorus is called the *Hippocrates Christianorum*. In the Latin translation of Origen, *Hom. in Levit. 8*, 1 (Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, XII, 492), we read: *Medicum dici in scripturis divinis Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum*. And a little later: *veni nunc ad Iesum caelestem medicum*. Cf. also Origen, in *Exodum*, p. 114 (Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, XII, 269): *ιατρος εστι ψυχης ο λογος του Θεου*, κτλ.; Origen, in *Hierem.*, *homil. 11*, init. (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, XXV, p. 839 Vall.).

⁴ Not only Luke (*Ep.*, 53, 9, 4; in *Philem.*, p. 763), but also Paul (*Ep.*, 22, 8, 3, on 1 *Tim.*, 5, 23).

⁵ *Tract. in Marc. 1* (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, ii, 337, 15-16): *Medicus Moyses, medicus Esaias, medici omnes sancti; sed iste (sc. Dominus) archiater est*. In *Ep.*, 40, 1, 2-3, Jeremiah, Ezechiel, and Amos are called *chirurgici spirituales secantes vitia peccatorum*. Cf. *Comm. in Malach.*, p. 980; *Hom. in Is.* (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, iii, 97, 4; 97, 13; 101, 18-19).

⁶ *Hom. in Hierem.*, 14, 1: . . . διὰ τὸ καὶ τοὺς προφήτας οἶον εἶναι ἰατροὺς ψυχῶν, κτλ.; *id.*, 14, 2: ὁ λαὸς τοίνυν ἐκεῖνος, εἰ καὶ ποικίλαι νόσοι ἦσαν ἐν τῷ λαῷ τῷ χρηματίζαντι τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐπεμπεν αὐτοῖς ἰατροὺς ὁ Θεὸς τοὺς προφήτας. εἰς τῶν ἰατρῶν καὶ Ἱερემίας ἦν, κτλ.

⁷ *Ep.*, 52, 15, 2: *nos, quibus animarum medicina commissa est, omnium Christianorum domos debemus amare quasi proprias*; in *Ezech.*, iii, p. 92; v, p. 169; in *Is.*, viii, p. 337.

⁸ *Commentariol. in Ps. 8* (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, i, 21, 9; on the ability of the skilful physician to diagnose); *Tract. in Marc. 1* (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, ii, 337, 16): *Novit diligenter venas tangere (sc. Iesus) et morborum arcana scrutari*; cf. III, ii, 338, 3. Note also Origen, *Hom. 1 in Luc.* (translated by Jerome, in Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, XXVI, pp. 249-250 Vall.): *ut . . . aestus februm in pulsum venarum sentiam*; and cf. Aug., *C. D.*, xxii, 30.

cure.¹ A regimen of diet² and appropriate drugs are prescribed.³ Those who do not follow the advice of the physician are suitably rebuked by him upon his later visits.⁴ The physicians had also their shops (*tabernae*), which appear in two of Jerome's *Letters*⁵ as synonymous with places of idle gossip, like the barbers' shops of antiquity and the present day. In the cenobitic establishments of Egypt Jerome tells us⁶ that a sick brother was taken to a more spacious apartment where he was attended by older brothers with such care that he need not miss the luxuries of the city or the affection of his mother. Of public hospitals (*νοσοκόμια*) his friend Fabiola had established the first — at least the first of which he knew — and he relates with great fulness⁷ the devotion with which she collected the sick from the public squares of the city and nursed the most distressing cases of misery with her own hands. In another letter⁸ he speaks of equal interest, but perhaps a trifle less personal service on the part of the wealthy Paula.

More interesting and striking, for purposes of figurative comparison, is the life of the surgeon, and numerous are the cases of sins demanding from the spiritual healer methods as direct and often as brusque as those employed by the physical practitioner.⁹ Cutting¹⁰

¹ *Comm. in Eccl.*, p. 474; *Tract. in Ps.* 141 (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, ii, 275, 9-11).

² *Adv. Pelag.*, iii, 11: *castigatis vivamus cibis*. In the *Comm. in Is.*, xiv (on ch. 52, 20), p. 598, he explains *beta semicocta* as *aegrotantium cibis*. In the *Comm. in Sophon.*, p. 686, he mentions *ptisanae* or barley-water as given by physicians and prepared with mortar and pestle; elsewhere the giving of cold water to fever patients (in *Abacuc*, i, p. 591-592), and the use of wine for the stomach (*Ep.*, 22, 8, 3; cf. 1 *Tim.*, 5, 23) are discussed. And compare what Galen is quoted (*Ep.* 54, 9, 4) as saying upon the subject of diet.

³ For these drugs see p. 80, notes 1 ff., *infra*.

⁴ In *Math.*, ii, pp. 133-134: *sed quod in similitudinem medici, si aegrotum videat contra sua praecepta se gerere, dicat usquequo accedam ad domum tuam, quousque artis perdam industriam, me aliud iubente et te aliud perpetrante?* Cf. *Commentariol.* in *Ps.* 2 (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, i, 8, 1).

⁵ 50, 5, 1; 52, 5, 4.

⁶ *Ep.*, 22, 35, 7.

⁷ *Ep.*, 77, 6, 1-2. This account is followed by one of rather a modern tone in which he describes others who practise *huiusce modi misericordiam per aliena ministeria et clementes esse pecunia, non manu*.

⁸ 108, 5, 1-2.

⁹ Cf. p. 75, n. 5, *supra*.

¹⁰ *Tract. in Ps.* 119 (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, ii, 226, 25-29): *Si quando in corpore vulnus est, et in ipso vulnere iam putridae carnes sunt, et cancer est, et fuerit pus in-*

and cauterizing¹ are the two most frequent methods. These, with their variations, occur in Jerome's figures abundantly, and, as will be seen by reference to the instances cited, are often mentioned together. Indeed, this connection of the two, as was shown by Welcker in an article entitled "*Schneiden und Brennen*,"² extends, with a good deal of frequency, through all posthomerian literature. For the period later than that treated by Welcker there are some facts collected by Harnack,³ to which may be added two references in Origen.⁴ Obstetrical allusions are also not altogether absent.⁵ The instruments of the surgeon appear in a few instances,⁶ but too vaguely to teach much; in two passages bandages and their use are described.⁷ The methods of the surgeon are often rough but their apparent cruelty is regularly explained as due to kindness and necessary for a permanent cure.⁸

trinsecus: nisi apertum fuerit, non egreditur pus. Et si egressum fuerit pus, nisi cauterium fuerit, rursum renascitur pus. Cf. *Ep.*, 40, 2, 1; 52, 6, 1; 55, 5, 5; 109, 2, 4; 117, 2, 1; in *Hierem.*, vi, 7, 7; in *Ezech.*, vii, p. 276; in *Mich.*, ii, pp. 524-525; in *Sophon.*, p. 689; in *Gal.*, iii, p. 489; *Tract. in Ps.* 140 (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, ii, 271, 11-14; 272, 22 ff.). Also in *Is.*, viii, p. 337; in *Osee*, p. 63; in *Naum*, p. 567; in *Malach.*, p. 980; and the amputation of diseased parts mentioned in *Ep.*, 60, 17, 3.

¹ *Ep.*, 15, 3, 2; 52, 6, 1; 55, 5, 5; 117, 2, 2; *Vit. Malch.*, 3; *adv. Ruf.*, iii, 20; in *Is.*, viii, p. 337; ix, p. 384; in *Hierem.*, vi, 7, 7; in *Ezech.*, vii, p. 276; in *Mich.*, i, p. 461; ii, pp. 484-485, 524-525; in *Osee*, pp. 42, 63; *Tract. in Ps.* 119 (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, ii, 226, 28 ff.); in *Ps.* 140 (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, ii, 271, 13); *Tract. in Is.*, i (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, iii, 101, 8-9). The three references in *adv. Iovin.*, i, 5; in *Zach.*, ii, p. 871; and in *Eph.*, iii, p. 646, are based upon 1 *Tim.*, 4, 2.

² *Kl. Schriften*, III, pp. 209-217. And cf. Harnack, *op. cit.*, p. 130 and n. 1.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 137 ff.

⁴ *Hom.* 1 in *Luc.* (translated by Jerome, in Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, XXVI, pp. 249-250 Vall.); *Hom. in Hierem.*, 14, 1, fin.

⁵ For an especially important passage on childbirth see in *Ezech.*, iv, p. 147. Other references may be found in the commentary in *Eccl.*, p. 482; in *Zach.*, iii, p. 932. Cf. the details in *Ep.*, 98, 19, 2 (letter of Theophilus).

⁶ *Ferrum* (*Ep.*, 40, 1, 1; 55, 5, 5; in *Is.*, xvii, p. 758); *scalpellus* (in *Osee*, p. 63; in *Sophon.*, p. 689). And cf. *Ep.*, 112, 13, 3.

⁷ In *Is.*, i, p. 16 (suggested by a lemma from *Is.*, i, 6); in *Osee*, p. 61.

⁸ *Ep.*, 40, 1; 55, 5, 5; in *Is.*, ix, p. 384; in *Ezech.*, i, p. 8; ii, p. 64: *non parcat ut parcat, non misereatur ut magis misereatur*; vii, p. 277; in *Osee*, pp. 42, 61; in *Mich.*, ii, pp. 484-485, 515, 524-525; in *Abacuc*, i, pp. 591-592; in *Matt.*, ii, p. 116; *Tract. in Ps.* 140 (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, ii, 271, 11-14). This commonplace is found in many writers, e. g., Sen., *Dial.*, i, 3, 2; cf. ii, 1, 1; iii, 6, 2; Tertull., *De Poenit.*, 10 (cited by Harnack); Origen, in *Matt.*, xv, 11: "καὶ γὰρ ἰάσομαι." *et* δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς

The Patient. Not all patients (sinners) in their illness realize their malady, and several of Jerome's comparisons deal with their attitude towards their physician (the Savior). Some disobey his orders;¹ some are unwilling to be cured;² others suspect that they are in danger of death³ and experience a depression of mind that doubles the effect of their physical infirmity;⁴ still more fear the physician or surgeon and the rigor of his methods.⁵ In dealing with this last set the skilful surgeon may hide his sharp knife, lest he unduly alarm the patient before he has had a chance to treat him,⁶ and he may also resort to justifiable falsehoods as to the patient's condition.⁷ The effects of the worldly station of the sick man are also noted; for illness has a certain degree of consolation if there be money to support it and furnish it with luxuries, but the combination of physical pain and poverty is doubly intolerable.⁸ Yet the illness of the childless rich, surrounded by dissimulating parasites who watch the sick man's every motion, is described in terms almost worthy of a Juvenal.⁹ The importance in sickness of a cheerful mind, by which the weakness of the body can be supported, is also recognized.¹⁰

The Disease. Important lists of common diseases are given by Jerome in two or three places,¹¹ and scattering references to single ones are frequent. Thus we find mention of fevers of different kinds and in different stages.¹² Poisons and their antidotes¹³ easily lend

ἀλγείν ποιεῖ, ἰστέον ὅτι πολλάκις καὶ ἰατρὸς ἀλγείν ποιεῖ· ποιήσας δὲ ἀλγείν ὁ Θεὸς πάλιν ἀποκαθίστησιν. Also in *Exod.*, p. 125; *Hom. in Hierem.*, xiv, 1, *fin.*; and cf. *Clem., Strom.*, i, 27.

¹ Cf. p. 76, n. 4, *supra*. ² *Tract. in Is. (Anecd. Mared., III, iii, 97, 6).*

³ *Tract. in Ps. 119 (Anecd. Mared., III, ii, 228, 9).* ⁴ *In Is.*, i, p. 15.

⁵ *In Is.*, ix, p. 384; *in Ezech.*, iii, p. 92; *in Matt.*, ii, p. 128.

⁶ *In Is.*, xvii, p. 758; cf. *Sen., Dial.*, v, 39, 4. ⁷ *Adv. Ruf.*, i, 18.

⁸ *Hom. in Luc. (Anecd. Mared., III, ii, 378, 5-6).* For the combination of illness and old age cf. *Tract. in Ps. 119 (Anecd. Mared., III, ii, 228, 19-20).*

⁹ *Ep.*, 52, 6, 4-5.

¹⁰ *Tract. in Is. (Anecd. Mared., III, iii, 101, 26 ff.).*

¹¹ *Ep.*, 77, 6, 2-3; *adv. Pelag.*, iii, 4; *in Eph.*, iii, p. 658.

¹² *Ep.*, 38, 2, 1; 39, 1, 4 (these describing the fever of Blesilla); 3, 3, 1; *Vit. Hilar.*, 14 (semitertian ague); *adv. Pelag.*, iii, 11; *in Mich.*, ii, pp. 484-485; *Tract. in Ps. 119 (Anecd. Mared., III, ii, 228, 8-9)*; *Tract. in Marc. 1 (Anecd. Mared., III, ii, 337, 9 ff.)*. Especially good in their description are *Comm. in Abacuc*, i, pp. 591-592; *in Matt.*, i, p. 45; *in Eph.*, iii, p. 644.

¹³ *Ep.*, 10, 3, 2; 117, 2, 1; *adv. Ruf.*, ii, 34; iii, 8; *adv. Iovin.*, i, 4.

themselves to figurative adaptations, as do wounds of varied sorts.¹ In the latter case it is often the healing over of the wound or perhaps some attempt to disturb the scab which is made the subject of remark. Gout,² perhaps rheumatism,³ and tumors⁴ are mentioned as though known to the writer by observation; the allusions which I have noted to leprosy,⁵ on the other hand, are mainly influenced directly by Biblical passages and show no first-hand acquaintance with the disease. Paralysis,⁶ headache,⁷ vertigo,⁸ perhaps insanity,⁹ and possession,¹⁰ dropsy¹¹ and humors,¹² nausea,¹³ jaundice,¹⁴ and various digestive troubles¹⁵ and pains of the eyes¹⁶ and ears¹⁷ are among the

¹ *Ep.*, I, 14; 3, 3, 2; 66, I, 1: *Sanato vulnere et in cicatricem superinductae cuti si medicina colorem reddere voluerit, dum pulchritudinem corporis quaerit, plagam doloris instaurat*; 69, I, 2; 77, 5, 1 ff.; 79, 10, 1; 112, 13, 3; 118, I, 3; 147, 9; *adv. Ruf.*, iii, 17; in *Is.*, xvi, p. 693; in *Ezech.*, i, *prol.*; *Tract. in Ps.* 84 (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, iii, 44, 6-8); *Tract. in Is.* (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, iii, 102, 16-17).

² *Adv. Iovin.*, ii, 12; in *Eccl.*, p. 491; in *Eph.*, iii, p. 653.

³ *Ep.*, 77, 6, 2; in *Eccl.*, p. 491.

⁴ *Tract. in Ps.* 133 (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, ii, 256, 20), and some of the references in n. 1, *supra*. Cf. also *Ep.*, 94, 1, 2 (which should probably not be included, being a letter of Dionysius to Theophilus).

⁵ *Ep.*, 94, 1, 2 (see n. 4, *supra*); in *Mich.*, ii, p. 524 (influenced by *Levit.*, 13); in *Sophon.*, p. 690 (influenced by *Levit.*, 14); *Tract. in Marc.* (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, ii, 367, 5 ff.; suggested by a lemma from *Mark*, 14, 3).

⁶ *Tract. in Ps.* 97 (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, ii, 144, 18, referring to Christ's miracles); *Tract. in Marc.* (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, ii, 341, 6, with allusion to Christ).

⁷ In *Is.*, i, p. 15.

⁸ *Ep.*, 121, *praef.*

⁹ *Ep.*, 109, 2, 4.

¹⁰ *Ep.*, 42, 1, 3.

¹¹ *Vit. Hilar.*, 37 (a miraculous cure by Hilarion).

¹² *Ep.*, 78, 7, 4; *adv. Pelag.*, iii, 11. *Phlegmata pulmonis* are mentioned in *Ep.*, 52, 6, 4; *scrofula* in *Ep.*, 40, 2, 1.

¹³ *Ep.*, 121 *praef.*; c. *Ioan. Hier.*, 39; in *Is.*, ix, p. 376; xiv, p. 596: *Solent medici amarissimam antidotum, quae ex gustu nomen accepit, dare stomacho nausienti, ut noxios humores evomat, et possit cocios cibos atque digestos in alveum transmittere quos phlegmatum magnitudo non sinebat, etc.*

¹⁴ *Ep.*, 77, 6, 2; *adv. Pelag.*, iii, 11; on its cure in *Is.*, xi, p. 475.

¹⁵ *Ep.*, 33, 8, 3 (on 1 *Tim.*, 5, 23); 52, 6, 4; 68, I, 4; 77, 6, 2; in *Iob*, 3 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, XXVI, p. 626 D), describing the disease called *bolimodes* (*bulimodes* ?), *quae infirmitas talem habere dicitur poenam, ut ante cibum torqueatur aegrotus et sint ei post cibum indesinentes dolores*; *adv. Pelag.*, iii, 4: *non torminibus et urinae difficultatibus torqueatur*; cf. *adv. Iovin.*, ii, 6; *adv. Pelag.*, iii, 11; in *Is.*, xviii, *prol.*: *ubi cibis sequuntur et morbi; ubi morbi adhibendus est medicus; ubi medici frequenter interitus.*

¹⁶ Cf. p. 80, n. 7; p. 83, nn. 5 and 6, *infra*.

¹⁷ *Adv. Iovin.*, ii, 6.

maladies receiving notice, many of them in the form of similes or metaphors. The drugs mentioned as their cures include styptics,¹ (especially in the form of a powder),² poultices,³ and plasters.⁴ The latter were of different sorts, appropriate to the different kinds of wounds,⁵ hence the proverb, occurring in the letter of Ignatius to Polycarp,⁶ "Not every wound is cured by the same kind of plaster." In Jerome the same thought appears also in a different form, substituting for 'plaster' *collyrium*, or eye-salve.⁷ Ointments for wounds,⁸ cathartics,⁹ medicines to ease the throat,¹⁰ and antidotes for poisons,¹¹ are enumerated, but the most varied and interesting list is that found in the work *Against Jovinian*,¹² a passage discussed by Harnack,¹³ and too long to be here quoted. Many of the remedies there set forth bear more likeness to those described by Cato than to the less pic-

¹ *Tract. in Ps.* 127 (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, ii, 238, 28: *vinum stypticum*). Hellebore also was apparently so used, or possibly as a purgative (*in Mich.*, ii, pp. 524-525).

² *In Hierem.*, vi, 7, 7; *in Mich.*, i, p. 461: *medici . . . urunt cauterio vel pulvere καυστικῷ*; *Tract. in Is.* 1 (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, iii, 101, 8-9); *in Gal.*, ii, p. 468: *mordaciori pulvere*; cf. Tertull., *De Poenit.*, 10: *pulveris alicuius mordacitate cruciari*; Harnack, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

³ Of figs: *in Is.*, xi, p. 475.

⁴ *Adv. Ruf.*, iii, 14; *c. Ioan. Hier.*, 39; *in Ezech.*, iv, p. 161; *in Ionam*, p. 416; *in Gal.*, ii, p. 468; *Tract. in Ps.* 119 (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, ii, 226, 14); *Tract. in Is.* 1 (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, iii, 101, 9-10, 16); *Hom. de Nativ. Dom.* (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, ii, 394, 17-18); and see especially Harnack's note upon this figure (*op. cit.*, p. 137, n. 1).

⁵ *Tract. in Ps.* 137 (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, ii, 265, 20-21): *Qualia sunt vulnera, tale et inplastrum*; cf. *Comm. in Matth.*, ii, p. 93; *Ep.*, 84, 4, 3.

⁶ Ch. 2: *οὐ πᾶν τραῦμα τῇ αὐτῇ ἐμπλάστρῳ θεραπεύεται*. Compare also Hier., *Ep.*, 84, 4, 3; Harnack, *l. c.*

⁷ *In Eph.*, prol., p. 540: *nec ad instar imperiti medici uno collyrio omnium oculos vult curare*; *c. Ioan. Hier.*, 5; Otto, *Sprichwörter*, p. 89. Another reference to *collyria* is found in the work *c. Ioan. Hier.*, 38. Not only the disease but also the person must be considered, according to *Ep.*, 57, 1, 2: *pro diversitate personarum diversa de scripturis adhibenda medicina*. Cf. Clem. Alex., *Protrept.*, 1, 8, 2.

⁸ *Tract. in Marc.* 1 (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, ii, 338, 15).

⁹ *In Hierem.*, v, 14, 3; *in Ezech.*, vii, p. 269.

¹⁰ *In Eph.*, iii, p. 562.

¹¹ Cf. p. 78, n. 13. *supra*.

¹² ii, 6.

¹³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 57-58.

turesque ones of a more modern *materia medica*.¹ The abuse of poisonous drugs intended by medicine for curative purposes is compared by Jerome² to the abuse of the Law.

I am, of course, aware that the passages thus far cited may be paralleled in other writers, and that the figurative use made by Jerome of these different medical features may seldom be original, yet the great abundance of such allusions in a non-medical writer seems worthy of comment, and an attempt to account for them not unreasonable.

In the first place it is clear that Jerome had himself read more or less in medical books. For not only are vague references to such made,³ but on the subject of animal and vegetable remedies he invites⁴ the reader to consult the works of Aristotle, Theophrastus, Marcellus Sidetes (author of a work called *ιατρικά*), and 'our Flavius';⁵ also Pliny, Dioscorides, and others, both scientists⁶ and medical writers. Yet these are not his medical favorites, for it is to Hippocrates as the type of the physician that he likens Christian healers.⁷ The oath which Hippocrates exacted from his pupils,⁸ his allopathic principles,⁹ and his physical theories,¹⁰ are known to Jerome,

¹ For other remedies see also *Comm. in Zach.*, iii, p. 932.

² *Ep.*, 121, 8 (p. 871 Vall.). For poisons given for medicinal purposes we should perhaps compare *adv. Ruf.*, i, 1, but the text is as yet too uncertain to allow its use as evidence.

³ *Tract. in Ps.* 15 (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, iii, 22, 13 ff.): *Nam quantum in memoria mea est, nec apud philosophorum quempiam nec apud rhetorum, nec apud poetas, nec apud quidem medicos, qui naturae corporum scientiam repromittunt, umquam legisse me novi, renes pro intellectibus et profunda cogitatione positos.* Cf. *adv. Iovin.*, ii, 6: *omnes medicorum declarant libri; quos si legeris, videbis, etc.*

⁴ *Adv. Iovin.*, ii, 6.

⁵ On whom see Harnack, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

⁶ *Physicos.*

⁷ *C. Ioan. Hier.*, 38: *quasi spiritualis Hippocrates*; in the same work, ch. 39, Isidorus is called 'the Hippocrates of the Christians.' His name is also used as a type of the physician in *Ep.*, 125, 16.

⁸ *Ep.*, 52, 15, 2.

⁹ *Ep.*, 121, *praef.*: *iuxta Hippocratem, contrariorum contraria esse remedia*; probably cited, as Lübeck, *Hieronymus quos noverit scriptores et ex quibus hauserit*, p. 103, thinks, from Galen. Cf. the figurative use made of this same doctrine in *Sen., Dial.*, xii, 2, 2.

¹⁰ *In Ezech.*, i, p. 11.

and a long extract from his *Aphorisms* is given in the tractate *Against Iovinian*,¹ though, as Lübeck recognizes,² through the medium of Galen, of whose προτρεπτικός λόγος ἐπὶ τὰς τέχνας (*Exhortatio medicinae*),³ περὶ διαγνώσεως καὶ θεραπείας,⁴ περὶ κρίσιμων ἡμερῶν,⁵ Ἱπποκράτους ἀφορισμοὶ καὶ Γαλήνου εἰς αὐτοὺς ὑπομνήματα,⁶ πρὸς Θρασύβουλον,⁷ περὶ τῆς τῶν ἀπλῶν φαρμάκων κράσεως καὶ δυνάμεως,⁸ and ὑγιεινῶν λόγοι,⁹ he makes direct and very important use. The passages in Galen which have been collected by Lübeck,¹⁰ need not here detain us.

Doubtless from such sources as these he had derived his information that medicine is divided into three parts: δόγμα, μέθοδος, ἐμπειρία.¹¹ Whatever may be the theories,¹² the empirical side of medicine is of value, — *non spernendam esse medicinam quae usu constet et experimento: quia et hanc fecerit Deus*.¹³ Items of physiological¹⁴ and psycho-

¹ ii, 11.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 99. Another reference, not noted by Lübeck, is perhaps to be seen in *Ep.*, 84, 7, 5: *aiunt et medici grandes morbos non esse curandos, sed dimittendos naturae, ne medella languorem exasperet*, with which compare the rather similar view attributed by Augustine (*C. D.*, xxii, 8, p. 600, 15 Hoffmann) to Hippocrates.

³ *Adv. Iovin.*, ii, 11.

⁴ *Ep.*, 102, 2, 1.

⁵ *In Amos*, ii, p. 283.

⁶ *Adv. Iovin.*, ii, 11.

⁷ *Ep.*, 52, 11, 4. The quotation is here of a verse from Attic comedy (Kock, III, p. 613, fr. 1234), but Jerome's direct use of Attic comedy is very slight (see Lübeck, pp. 18-19), so that Lübeck is doubtless right (p. 103, n. 1) in here finding Jerome's source in Galen.

⁸ *Adv. Iovin.*, ii, 6.

⁹ *Ep.*, 54, 9, 4; 121, *praef.* (cf. p. 81, n. 9, *supra*).

¹⁰ Pp. 100-104.

¹¹ *Adv. Pelag.*, i, 21. Cf. the translation by Rufinus of Origen, in *Ep. ad Rom.*, v, 4: *ille dicitur medicus qui usum ac studium ac disciplinam habet medendi*. And cf. n. 13, *infra*.

¹² The comparative uselessness of mere theoretical knowledge of medicine is expressed by Origen, in a work translated by Jerome himself, *Hom. in Luc.* 1 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, XXVI, pp. 222 C-223 A): *Scientia geometriae finem habet ipsam tantum scientiam atque doctrinam. Alia vero scientia est, cuius finis opus exigit: velut in medicina oportet me rationem et dogmata scire medicinae, non ut tantummodo noverim quid debeam facere, sed ut faciam, id est, ut secum vulnera, victum moderatum castigatumque disponam, etc. . . . Quae si quis tantum scierit, et non opere fuerit subsecutus, cassa erit eius scientia*.

¹³ *In Is.*, xi, p. 475.

¹⁴ For example the passage on the physiology of the digestion (*in Matt.*, ii, p. 114), and that on the symptoms of pregnancy (*Ep.*, 98, 19, 2).

logical¹ knowledge at times crop out, and in general his attitude towards medicine and cures is a fairly scientific one.² A prominent exception must be made in regard to the miraculous cures ascribed to Hilarion in his life of that saint,³ but the nature and probable purpose of that biography are, of course, decidedly different from those of most of his other writings.⁴

A second important factor in his interest in medicine is, I believe, to be found in his personal experiences and those of his friends. His own life seems to have been one of much illness, though aside from several references to troubles with his eyes,⁵ brought on, as he says, by excessive reading,⁶ he is in most cases not very definite as to its causes or nature. In 373 he writes⁷ of his journey through Thrace, Pontus, Bithynia, Galatia (or Cappadocia), and Cilicia, amid great heat, finally ending in Syria, where, he says, "I suffered all the diseases that there could be."⁸ In the sixth letter,⁹ written between 374 and 379, he mentions "uninterrupted sickness, both of body and soul;" in 386-387¹⁰ on account of weakness of his eyes and of his whole body he cannot write with his own hand; later, in 398,¹¹ by reason of long continued illness he has been prevented from the writing of a commentary requested by a friend; in 406,¹² after a very severe illness, he is again unable to endure the toil of writing with his own hand; and,

¹ *Tract. in Ps. 15 (Anecd. Mared., III, iii, 22, 13-17)*, on the seat of intelligence; also *Tract. in Is. 1 (Anecd. Mared., III, iii, 102, 5 ff.)*; in *Ezech., vii, p. 245: naturale est enim ut timore cogente vesica laxetur.*

² Yet physicians labor in vain without the aid of the Lord (*in Is., viii, p. 352*), and recovery is assisted by the prayers of friends (*in Is., xiv, prol.*).

³ Ch. 13 ff.

⁴ Cf. Reitzenstein, *Hellenistische Wundererzählungen*, pp. 80-83.

⁵ *Ep., 21, 42*; in *Gal., iii, p. 485.*

⁶ Prol. to translation of Origen's *Homilies on Jeremiah* (Migne, *Patr. Lat., XXV, p. 584*), written, according to Grützmacher, *Hieronimus*, as early as 379-381. Grützmacher's table of dates (Vol. I, pp. 99-102) I have followed in this part of my discussion.

⁷ *Ep., 3, 3, 1*; cf. 3, 1, 2; 3, 2, 3; 4, 1, 2; 4, 2, 2. Pronberger, *Beiträge zur Chronologie des hl. Hier.* (Amberg, 1913), dates *Epp.* 3 and 4 in 374.

⁸ *Quicquid morborum esse poterat expertus.*

⁹ 6, 1, 2. Pronberger, *op. cit.*, dates this letter in 375.

¹⁰ In *Gal., iii, p. 485.*

¹¹ In *Matt., prol., p. 8.*

¹² In *Amos, iii, prol., pp. 309-310.*

finally, in the *Commentary on Isaiah*¹ he tells of his recovery from an illness, aided by the prayers of Eustochium.² Such a series of references, extending over many years, will make one realize that physical weakness and pain was for Jerome a very vivid experience,³ and will, I believe, help much in accounting for the medical bent of his mind. It is interesting to note that Jerome himself, in a somewhat similar way, seeks to explain⁴ certain references to physical weakness by St. Paul, by supposing an illness of Paul at his first coming among the Galatians, mentioning a tradition that Paul frequently suffered from severe headache. Doubtless the sicknesses and deaths of his friends, of whose *epitaphia* the *Letters* contain so noteworthy a series,⁵ also contributed something to these experiences of Jerome.

A final and very important factor in accounting for these references is that which I have already mentioned, namely, the inheritance, from various sources,⁶ but probably especially from Origen,⁷ of certain traditional medical similes and metaphors. The subject in its earlier aspects has been so skilfully handled by Harnack⁸ that further treatment is unnecessary; one comparison, however, which seems not without interest, I may be allowed to suggest.

If one examine a large bulk of Greek and Latin literature, from its earliest period onward, he will be likely to notice the very natural

¹ xiv, *prol.*, dated by Grützmacher before 398.

² A reference to illness which prevented his preaching is found in the *Tract. in Ps. 7* (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, ii, 17, 16), of uncertain date.

³ *Si non aliquis aegrotat, nescit quantum valet sanitas*, says Jerome (*Tract. in Ps. 136* (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, ii, 262, 22)).

⁴ *In Gal.*, ii, p. 460.

⁵ 23 (on Lea), 24 (Asella), 39 (Blesilla), 60 (Nepotianus), 66 (Paulina), 75 (Lucinus), 77 (Fabiola), 108 (Paula), 127 (Marcella).

⁶ A striking passage from Cyprian (*De Lapsis*, 14, quoted by Harnack, pp. 137-138), an author not infrequently mentioned by Jerome with great respect, contains many points of likeness to some of the passages which we have discussed. It should be noted that Jerome's medical figures in their precise form are, in large measure, not taken from the healing miracles of Christ or from the New Testament at all, but are traceable to classical or patristic sources.

⁷ A more thorough examination of Origen than I have made would probably reveal, in a much more striking manner, the dependence of certain of Jerome's figures upon him and upon earlier writers through him.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, especially pp. 129 ff.

frequency of figures of speech drawn from the life and activities of the principal trades and professions, such as those of the general, the farmer, the sailor, and (despite the low esteem in which he was early held at Rome), the physician. References to the mariner are in Jerome very frequent and have received insufficient notice;¹ they concern themselves chiefly with storm and shipwreck,² and the safe arrival in port,³ with some on other features of the life of the sea.⁴ May not Jerome's own journeys, in an age when any voyage was likely to be uncomfortable if not perilous, have stimulated his interest in such figures which were already well established as recognized literary ornaments? Yet here also, as in the matter of medical figures, we may seek, not perhaps for models, but for suggestions, in the New Testament, the forms of thought of which so pervade all Jerome's works. As various incidents in the life of Jesus readily and inseparably associated themselves with the art of healing, so not a few others — and some striking ones among them — were closely connected with the life, activities, and perils of those who go down to the sea in ships. Of St. Paul's allusions to shipwreck it is hardly necessary to speak.⁵ A study of the various metaphors and similes connected with the

¹ Harendza, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-35.

² *Ep.*, I, 2, 2 (an elaborate account); 14, 6, 2-3; 22, 38, 1; 57, 12, 2; 77, 6, 1; 108, 27, 1; 123, 16; 125, 2; 127, 11; *adv. Iovin.*, i, 36; *c. Ioan. Hier.*, 30, 37; *adv. Ruf.*, ii, 15; *adv. Pelag.*, i, 12; iii, 11; *in Eccl.*, pp. 393, 419; *in Is.*, vi, pp. 245, 246; vii, p. 285; xiii, p. 561; xiv, pp. 577-578; *in Ezech.*, viii, p. 308; xi, p. 456; xii, p. 499; xiv, p. 602; *in Amos*, i, p. 224; *in Ionam*, pp. 396-397; *in Naum*, p. 549; *in Malach.*, p. 967; *in Gal.*, i, p. 375; *in Eph.*, ii, p. 617; *in Tit.*, p. 716; *Tract. in Ps.* 93 (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, ii, 132, 23); *in Ps.* 92 (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, iii, 79, 26 f.). See n. 4, *infra*. For the phrase *in portu naufragium* cf. Otto, *Sprichwörter*, p. 284. The proverb *post naufragium tabula* is a favorite: *Ep.*, 84, 6, 3; 117, 3, 2 (cf. 122, 4); 130, 9 (cf. 147, 3); *in Is.*, ii, p. 56; cf. *in Hierem.*, iii, 60, 3; iv, 32, 3; *in Ezech.*, v, p. 183; *Tract. in Ps.* 95 (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, ii, 134, 10); *in Ps.* 95 (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, iii, 87, 14), and Tertullian's phrase (*De Poenit.*, 12): *planca post naufragium*.

³ *Ep.*, i, 2, 2; 2, 1, 4; 3, 3, 1; 43, 3, 1; *in Osee*, iii, *prol.*, pp. 109-110; *in Mich.*, i, p. 443.

⁴ *Ep.*, 3, 2, 3; 10, 3, 3; 14, 10, 1; 15, 2, 2; 53, 11, 2; 64, 22, 2; 82, 1, 2; 117, 3, 3; 123, 3; 123, 14; 125, 3; 128, 3; *in Is.*, vii, p. 285; xiii, pp. 534-535. Some of the examples in this note and in n. 2, *supra* might well be subdivided to illustrate certain proverbial forms.

⁵ Yet cf. p. 84, n. 6, *supra*.

sea and its life in early Christian literature, from the time of the Gospels, showing the application of those figures to the vicissitudes of moral and religious experience, would be not without interest.

In any event, it appears to me certain that Jerome found these two groups of figures, each well established in classical literature, approved by Gospel example, and made vivid by personal experience, and each in itself involving crises and contrasts of storm and calm, especially significant for the description and illustration of spiritual truths.¹

¹ Other medical allusions not hitherto noted are the following: *Ep.*, i, 14; 3, 5, 1; 60, 15, 1; 77, 5, 1-2; 98, 23, 2, and 98, 24, 1-3 (in the letter of Theophilus); 118, 1, 3; 119, 10, 2; 122, 1; 125, 14; *adv. Ruf.*, i, 18; ii, 4; in *Eccl.*, pp. 444, 445; in *Is.*, i, p. 14; in *Hierem.*, ii, 31, 1; ii, 55, 2; iii, 50; vi, 7, 7; in *Ezech.*, v, p. 171; x, p. 397; xii, p. 492; in *Dan.*, p. 676; in *Osee*, pp. 42, 129; in *Mich.*, ii, p. 525; in *Gal.*, *prol.*, pp. 367-368; iii, p. 519; *Tract. in Ps.* 1 (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, ii, 7, 1); in *Ps.* 15 (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, iii, 27, 7); in *Ps.* 93 (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, iii, 85, 15); in *Ps.* 96 (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, iii, 92, 10); in *Ps.* 108 (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, ii, 187, 9); in *Ps.* 133 (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, ii, 257, 10); in *Ps.*, 136 (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, ii, 263, 7); *Tract. in Is.* 1 (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, iii, 100, 21).